

48 Male  
52 Female  
**[5]**

FINAL

Study #4019  
NBC News/WSJ  
July 1991

AR EA		TYPE		SAMPLE DATE		FORM		DATE		
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Be \_\_\_\_\_  
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Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes.....	100	<b>CONTINUE</b>	<b>[19]</b>
No.....	-	<b>TERMINATE AND DO NOT COUNT</b>	
Not sure.....	-		

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

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Right direction . . . .	33	40	40	55	65	28	22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42	<b>[20]</b>
Wrong track . . . . .	50	44	38	26	22	51	59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34	
Mixed (VOL) . . . . .	12	13	17	15	9	15	14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19	
Not sure . . . . .	5	3	5	4	4	6	5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5	

3a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

		<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>2/91</u>	<u>1/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/30</u>	<u>10/19</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
							0	-	-							9		
								31/90	21/90									
Approve...	67	76	74	81	85	77	57	56	59	75	67	72	75	69	71	67	67	<b>[21]</b>
Disapprove...	25	21	19	13	11	15	36	32	32	15	22	21	15	19	19	22	17	
Not sure...	8	3	7	6	4	8	7	12	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11	16	

3b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

		<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
									0	0	0	0	9	9	
Approve.....	38	47	44	44	37	35	52	48	51	59	53	54	52	61	<b>[22]</b>
Disapprove...	52	48	44	45	54	55	36	41	40	30	35	31	33	24	
Not sure.....	10	5	12	11	9	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15	15	

3c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

		<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
					0	0							9		
Approve.....	74	74	76	83	56	63	75	67	67	70	67	69	59	58	<b>[23]</b>
Disapprove...	21	21	18	11	37	30	17	22	25	22	22	21	27	26	
Not sure....	5	5	6	6	7	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14	16	

3d. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our environmental problems?

		<u>4/90</u>	
Approve...	4	49	<b>[24]</b>
	2		<b>1</b>
Disapprove...	4	41	
e.....	6		
Not sure...	1	10	
	2		

4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

		<u>10/90</u>	
Approve.....	28	22	<b>[25]</b>
			<b>1</b>
Disapprove	63	69	
Not sure...	9	9	

4b. And how would you rate the Congressman or woman from your district--do you approve or disapprove of the job your representative is doing?

		<u>10/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	
Approve...	5	57	68	<b>[26]</b>
	9			<b>1</b>
Disapprove	2	30	16	
e.....	9			
Not sure	1	13	16	
	2			

4c. Looking ahead to the election for U.S. Congress in 1992, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

		<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
		0						9		
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	29	31	32	33	34	25	26	27	29	<b>[27]</b>

Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	33	Study 370196 page 23						
Depends (VOL).....	24	12	14	17	22	29	33	28
Neither (VOL).....	1	3	1	2	1	2	2	1
Not sure.....	13	14	16	12	10	10	8	12

- 4d. In general, do you think it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think that it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the Presidency, to prevent either one from going too far?

		<u>10/9</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/86</u>	
		<u>0</u>			
Better if controlled by the <u>same</u>	28	23	24	28	<b>[28]</b>
political party.....					
Better if controlled by <u>different</u>	61	67	63	64	
political parties.....					
Not sure.....	11	10	13	8	

**Now, I'd like to ask you a few questions about the economy and finances.**

- 5a. Over the past year, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

		<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/89</u>	
											<u>0</u>	<u>89</u>	
Better.....	9	11	8	3	3	6	11	11	12	13	12	15	18
Worse.....	64	54	64	73	72	57	37	36	30	37	29	34	23
Stayed about the same .	26	35	27	23	24	35	51	52	56	48	57	49	57
Not sure.....	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2

- 5b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

		<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>1/91</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
						<u>0</u>								<u>9</u>		
Better.....	34	37	37	46	25	21	13	16	20	22	24	21	22	21	25	<b>[30]</b>
Worse.....	24	23	22	20	40	45	52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23	
Stay about the same	37	37	38	27	28	30	30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43	
Not sure.....	5	3	3	7	7	4	5	9	7	5	5	5	6	7	9	

6. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER AND RECORD BELOW.)**

		<u>6/91</u>	<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
									<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>			
Inflation.....	9	9	9	10	11	13	13	8	9	13	12	12	<b>[31]</b>
Unemployment.....	35	30	32	31	26	16	22	21	22	20	23	23	
Interest rates.....	3	4	2	3	3	2	3	4	5	5	4	4	
The federal budget deficit	27	34	29	32	35	43	34	37	35	30	29	32	
Federal taxes.....	7	7	6	6	7	10	5	9	9	7	7	8	
The U.S. trade deficit.....	10	11	11	10	11	9	14	14	14	17	18	15	
All equally important	6	3	10	6	6	6	6	6	4	6	5	4	
(VOL).....													
None is important (VOL)	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	
Not sure.....	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	

- 7a. Generally speaking, would you say your own family's financial situation is in good shape, only fair shape, or poor shape?

		<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	
		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	
Good shape...	36	37	40	43	37	<b>[32]</b>
Only fair shape.....	50	50	47	45	51	
Poor shape....	13	13	12	12	12	
Not sure.....	1	-	1	-	-	

7b. During the next year, do you think your family will be financially better off than it is today, worse off, or about the same?

		<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
		<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	
Better off.....	32	29	29	36	30	31	34	<b>[33]</b>
Worse off.....	10	11	10	8	9	14	13	
About the same.....	56	59	59	55	59	53	51	
Not sure.....	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	

**Now, let me ask you a few questions about politics**

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8. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat.....	1	ASK	<b>[34]</b>
	7	Q.9a.	
Not strong Democrat.....	1		
	6		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	8		
Strictly Independent.....	1		
	4		
Independent/lean Republican.....	1	SKIP TO	
	1	Q.10a.	
Not strong Republican.....	1		
	6		
Strong Republican.....	1		
	2		
Other.....	3		
Refused.....	1		
Don't know/nothing.....	2		

- 9a. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the 1992 Democratic nomination for president. If the Democratic primary for president were being held today, which candidate would you favor. **(READ LIST.) (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean? (RECORD BELOW UNDER Q.9b.)**

	Q.9a. First Choice		Q.9b. Second Choice		Q.9c. Unacceptabl e	
Bill Clinton.....	3	<b>[35]</b>	5	<b>[36]</b>	3	<b>[37]</b>
		<b>1</b>				
Mario Cuomo.....	24		12		4	
Albert Gore.....	14		11		3	
Tom Harkin.....	2		3		1	
Jesse Jackson.....	14		9		26	
Jay Rockefeller.....	10		9		5	
Paul Tsongas.....	3		4		1	
Someone else (VOL).....	2	SKIP	2		-	
None (VOL).....	9	TO	4		35	
Not sure.....	19	Q.9c.	11		30	
No First choice.....	NA		30		NA	

- 9b. And let's say your first choice were not running. If the Democratic primary for president were being held today, which candidate would you favor? **(READ REMAINING CHOICES IN Q.9a.) (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean? (RECORD ABOVE UNDER Q.9b.)**

- 9c. Is there any candidate on this list you find unacceptable and would not like to see the Democratic Party nominate for president in 1992? (IF "YES," ASK:) Which one or ones? (ACCEPT UP TO THREE ANSWERS. RECORD ABOVE UNDER 9c.)



**(ASK EVERYONE.)**

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- 10a. Looking ahead to the next election for president, George Bush will be running for reelection as the Republican candidate for president. Will you definitely vote for Bush in that election, probably vote for Bush, probably vote for the Democratic candidate, or definitely vote for the Democratic candidate?

Definitely vote for Bush.....	2	<b>[38]</b>
	0	
Probably vote for Bush.....	3	
	4	
Probably vote for the Democratic candidate.....	1	
	5	
Definitely vote for the Democratic candidate.....	1	
	5	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
	1	
Not sure.....	5	

Now, let me ask you about two cases in particular.

- 10b. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Mario Cuomo, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Cuomo?

		<u>5/91</u>	<u>3/91</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
George Bush...	60	61	67	52	<b>[39]</b>
Mario Cuomo...	30	27	22	35	
Neither (VOL)	2	3	2	3	
Not sure.....	8	9	9	10	

- 10c. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Albert Gore, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Gore?

		<u>3/91</u>	
George Bush.....	60	68	<b>[40]</b>
Albert Gore.....	26	18	
Neither (VOL).....	2	3	
Not sure.....	12	11	

- 11a. Let me read you a number of areas that the president of the United States deals with as part of his job. Which one of the following do you think should be the president's most important priority? **(READ CHOICES. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. RECORD BELOW UNDER Q.11a. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	Q.11a. Most Importan t <u>Priority</u>			Q.11b. Second Most Importa nt <u>Priority</u>	
Dealing with the U.S. economy.....	37	ASK	<b>[41]</b>	39	<b>[42]</b>
Dealing with national security and U.S. foreign policy .....	13	Q.11b		20	
Dealing with domestic issues such as education, health care, and the environment.....	43	.		33	
Other (VOL).....	-			-	
All of these equally (VOL).....	6	SKIP		-	
None of these (VOL).....	-	TO		-	
Not sure.....	1	Q.12.		1	
No Most Important Priority.....	NA			7	

- 11b. And what do you think should be the president's second most important priority--**(READ REMAINING CHOICES. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE. RECORD ABOVE UNDER Q.11b.)**

12. Now, let me read you this list again. For each item, I want you to tell me how much confidence you have in George Bush as president in that area using a scale of 1 to 5. On this scale a rating of "5" means you have a great deal of confidence in George Bush as president in that area, and a rating of "1" means you have very little confidence in George Bush as president in that area. You may use any number between 1 and 5, depending on how much confidence you have in George Bush as president in that area. **(MAKE SURE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS SCALE. READ EACH ITEM AND RECORD SCORE. IF RESPONDENT CANNOT RATE CONFIDENCE IN AN AREA, RECORD A "6.")**

	Very Little Confidence			A Great Deal		Cannot Rate	
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	
Dealing with the U.S. economy.....	11	20	43	18	7	1	<b>[43]</b>
Dealing with national security and foreign policy.....	5	7	14	36	36	2	<b>[44]</b>
Dealing with domestic issues such as education, health care, and the environment.....	19	26	33	15	6	1	<b>[45]</b>

13. Now, let me read you this list one last time. For each item, I want you to tell me how much confidence you would have in a Democrat as president in that area using a scale of 1 to 5. On this scale a rating of "5" means you would have a great deal of confidence in a Democrat as president in that area, and a rating of "1" means you have very little confidence in a Democrat as president in that area. You may use any number between 1 and 5, depending on how much confidence you would have in a Democrat as president in that area. **(MAKE SURE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS SCALE. READ EACH ITEM AND RECORD SCORE. IF RESPONDENT CANNOT RATE CONFIDENCE IN AN AREA, RECORD A "6.")**

	Very Little Confidence			A Great Deal		Cannot Rate	
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	
Dealing with the U.S. economy.....	11	15	29	21	7	17	<b>[46]</b>
Dealing with national security and foreign policy.....	9	17	34	17	6	17	<b>[47]</b>
Dealing with domestic issues such as education, health care, and the environment.....	7	10	24	27	15	17	<b>[48]</b>

- 14a. In general, do you think the U.S. Supreme Court is too liberal or too conservative in its decisions?

		<u>7/87</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>7/86</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>7/73</u> <sup>2</sup>	
Too liberal.....	33	36	34	35	<b>[49]</b>
Too conservative.....	44	38	38	25	
About right (VOL).....	9	8	10	17	
Depends (VOL).....	4	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	10	18	18	22	

1 Comparative data from July 1987 and July 1986 was gathered by CBS News/New York Times and based on all adults.

2 Comparative data from July 1973 was gathered by the Gallup Organization and based on all adults.

- 14b. Based on what you have seen or heard recently, do you favor or oppose the U.S. Senate's confirming Clarence Thomas as a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, or do you still need to know more about him?

Favor the Senate's confirming Thomas .....	3	<b>[50]</b>
Oppose the Senate's confirming Thomas.....	5	
Still need to know more about him.....	1	
Not sure.....	0	
	5	
	3	
	2	

- 14c. Do you think President Bush nominated Clarence Thomas to be a Supreme Court justice because he is the best person for the job or because he is black?

Because he is the best person for the job.....	4	<b>[51]</b>
Because he is black.....	2	
Both equally (VOL).....	3	
Neither (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	9	
	2	
	9	

- 14d. During the confirmation process before the U.S. Senate, do you think Clarence Thomas should or should not have to state his views on abortion and other important issues that may come before the Supreme Court.

Should have to state his views. .	6	<b>[52]</b>
Should not have to state his views.....	0	
Not sure.....	3	
	5	
	5	

15. Which of the following best represents your views about abortion? **(READ CHOICES.)**

		<u>6/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	
1) The choice on abortion should be left up to the woman and her doctor.....	60	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<b>[53]</b>
2) Abortion should be legal only in cases where pregnancy results from rape or incest, or when the life of the mother is at risk.....	31	57	57	
3) Abortion should be illegal in all circumstances.....	8	36	33	
Not sure.....	1	7	8	
		-	2	

**Now, let me ask you a few questions foreign affairs and foreign policy.**

- 16a. Do you feel that the United States should or should not help the Soviet Union in strengthening its economy?

		<u>6/91</u>	<u>12/8</u>	
Should.....	52	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<b>[54]</b>
Should not.....	39	51	45	
Depends .....	5	38	40	
Not sure.....	4	7	8	
		4	7	

- 16b. Based on what you know, do you think President Gorbachev will or will not still be the leader of the Soviet Union one year from now?

<u>6/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>
<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>

Will still be the leader	53	49	16	42	61	<b>[55 ]</b>
Study 4019 page	51	49	16	42	61	
Will not still be the leader.....	34	42	45	23		
Not sure.....	13	9	13	13		

- 17a. The United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to reduce and limit conventional forces in Europe, that is, manpower, tanks and other conventional military equipment, do you believe we can or cannot trust the Soviets to live up to the agreement?

		<u>6/91</u> <sup>1</sup>	
Can trust the Soviets.....	5	48	<b>[56]</b>
	3		
Cannot trust the Soviets.	4	42	
	0		
Not sure.....	7	10	

- 17b. The United States and the Soviet Union have just agreed to reduce the overall number of long-range nuclear weapons in their arsenals by 25 to 35 percent. Do you believe we can or cannot trust the Soviets to live up to this agreement?

Can trust the Soviets.....	5	<b>[57]</b>
	1	
Cannot trust the Soviets.	4	
	3	
Not sure.....	6	

18. Now, let me read you a number of possible things that could happen as a result of this agreement with the Soviet Union to reduce nuclear arsenals. For each item, please tell me whether you think this is extremely likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or extremely unlikely to happen as a result of this agreement. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

As a result of this agreement with the Soviet Union to reduce nuclear arsenals, how likely do you think it is that **(READ ITEM)**--extremely likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or extremely unlikely?

	Extrem ely Likely to <u>Happen</u>	Somewh at Likely to <u>Happen</u>	Somewh at Unlikely to <u>Happen</u>	Extrem ely Unlikely to <u>Happen</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
The chance of nuclear war will be greatly reduced.....	24	40	21	12	3	<b>[58]</b>
The United States and the Soviet Union will have better relations in other areas.....	35	51	7	3	4	<b>[59]</b>
The United States and the Soviet Union will make even further reductions in their nuclear arsenals.....	16	47	22	10	5	<b>[60]</b>
The world situation will become less stable.....	11	24	38	20	7	<b>[61]</b>
The United States will be able to spend significantly less money on national defense....	17	36	25	17	5	<b>[62]</b>

- 19a. Do you think the United States did or did not end the war with Iraq too soon?

		<u>5/91</u> <sup>1</sup>	
Did end the war too soon...	66	54	<b>[63]</b>
			<b>1</b>
Did not end the war too soon.....	31	40	
Not sure.....	3	6	

<sup>1</sup> In June 1991 this question was worded, "If the United States and the Soviet Union sign an agreement reducing and limiting conventional forces in Europe, that is manpower, tanks, and other conventional military equipment, do you believe we can or cannot trust the Soviets to live up to the agreement?"

- 19b. Would you favor or oppose the United States resuming military action against Iraq if Saddam Hussein continues to develop nuclear weapons?

Would favor of the U.S. resuming military action against Iraq.....	7	<b>[64]</b>
Would oppose the U.S. resuming military action against Iraq.....	8	
Depends on the type of action taken (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	6	
	3	
	3	

- 20a. In general, who do you think is currently the biggest obstacle to finding a peace settlement in the Arab-Israeli dispute--**(READ CHOICES)? (ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

The Arab nations.....	3	<b>[65]</b>
Israel.....	5	
Both equally (VOL).....	3	
Neither (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	
	2	
	1	
	5	

- 20b. Do you think Israel should or should not give up control of land in the occupied territories of the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights in exchange for a peace agreement with the Arab nations?

Yes, should give up control.....	5	<b>[66]</b>
No, should not give up control.....	0	
Not sure.....	3	
	4	
	1	
	6	

- 20c. As you may know, Israel is asking the United States for 10 billion dollars in loan guarantees to help resettle newly arrived Soviet Jews. Do you think the United States should or should not require Israel to stop building Jewish settlements in the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip as a condition for providing these loan guarantees?

United States should require Israel to stop building settlements as a condition for loan guarantees.....	4	<b>[67]</b>
United States should not require Israel to stop building settlements as a condition for loan guarantees .....	5	
Should not provide guarantees under any circumstances (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	9	
	1	
	1	
	1	
	5	

- 21a. Based on what you have seen or heard recently, do you favor or oppose the U.S. Senate's confirming Robert Gates as Director of the C.I.A., or do you still need to know more about him?

Favor the Senate's confirming Gates .	1	<b>[68]</b>
Oppose the Senate's confirming Gates.....	0	
Still need to know more about him.....	1	
Not sure.....	0	
	7	
	7	
	3	

- 21b. Recently, there have been questions about whether Robert Gates misled Congress concerning his knowledge of illegal arms shipments to Iran while he was Deputy Director of the C.I.A during the Reagan Administration. If an investigation shows that Gates did mislead Congress about his knowledge of these illegal arms shipments, do you think the Senate should or should not confirm Robert Gates' nomination to serve as Director of the C.I.A.?

Study 4019page 16

Should confirm Gates' nomination	1	<b>[69]</b>
	5	
Should not confirm Gates' nomination.....	7	
	5	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

21c. Do you think there are or are not any Americans soldiers who were listed as missing or killed in action in during the Vietnam War still being held in Southeast Asia?

There are American soldiers still being held.....	6	ASK Q.21d.	<b>[70]</b>
	9		
There are no American soldiers still being held.....	2	SKIP TO	
	0		
Not sure.....	1	Q.22.	
	1		

21d. Do you think the United States government is or is not doing enough to secure the release of these American soldiers?

United States government is doing enough.....	14	<b>[71]</b>
United States government is not doing enough.....	76	
Not sure.....	10	

**Now, let me ask you a few questions the environment.**

22. Do you consider yourself to be an environmentalist, or not? **(IF "YES," ASK:)** Would you say you are a strong environmentalist or not a strong environmentalist?

<b><u>YES, AN ENVIRONMENTALIST</u></b>	<b>[72]</b>
Strong environmentalist.....	4
	0
Not strong environmentalist.....	4
	0
<b><u>NO, NOT AN ENVIRONMENTALIST</u></b>	1
	8
<b><u>NOT SURE</u></b>	2

23a. Which one of the following environmental problems do you think is the most serious facing the country today? **(READ CHOICES. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE AND RECORD BELOW UNDER Q.23a. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	Q.23a. Most <u>Importa</u> <u>nt</u>	<u>4/90</u>		Q.23b. Second Most <u>Importa</u> <u>nt</u>	<u>4/90</u>	
Air pollution.....	13	ASK	17	<b>[73]</b>	18	23 <b>[74]</b>
Water pollution.....	12		15		16	21
Solid waste and garbage.....	16	Q.23b.	16		14	14
Hazardous or toxic waste.....	21		26		17	15
Destruction of our natural resources.....	15		7		10	7
Global warming.....	9		7		9	6
All equally important (VOL).....	13	SKIP	11		-	-
No one problem is important (VOL).....	-	TO	-		-	1



Not sure.....	Study 4019 page 16 Q.24a	1	1
No most important environmental problem.....	NA	NA	15 12

23b. And which one do you think is the next most important? **(READ REMAINING CHOICES AND RECORD ABOVE.)**

24a. Sometimes the laws that are designed to protect the environment cause industries to spend more money and raise their prices. Which do you think is more important: protecting the environment or keeping prices down?

		<u>4/90</u>	<u>10/81</u> 1	<u>12/78</u> 1	<u>12/75</u> 1	
Protecting the environment.....	81	80	51	56	57	<b>[75]</b>
Keeping prices down.....	13	13	38	39	33	
Not sure.....	6	7	11	5	10	

<sup>1</sup> Comparative data for Q.24a. from 1981, 1978, and 1975 was gathered by NBC News.

- 24b. Recently there has been a controversy in the Northwest over whether to protect the spotted owl, an endangered species, which would result in the loss of jobs in the area. In general, which do you think is more important--protecting an endangered species or protecting jobs?

Protecting endangered species..	3	<b>[76]</b>
	4	
Protecting jobs.....	5	
	1	
Both equally important (VOL) .	8	
Neither is important (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	6	

25. Overall, do you think the environment in the United States has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same over the last twenty years?

		<u>4/90</u>	
Gotten better.....	2	16	<b>[77]</b>
	0		
Gotten worse.....	6	67	
	6		
Stayed about the same.	1	16	
	3		
Not sure.....	1	1	

26. When it comes to the environment, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither?

		<u>4/90</u>	
Democratic Party.....	24	22	<b>[78]</b>
Republican Party.....	6	14	
Both about the same.....	55	46	
Neither (VOL).....	10	15	
Not sure.....	5	3	

27. Some people think we will be able to dramatically improve the quality of the environment mostly through technological advances such as developing cleaner-burning fuels and new recyclable products. Others think we will only be able to dramatically improve the quality of the environment by changing the way we live, such as driving less and using fewer plastic products. Which do you think is needed the most to be effective in dramatically improving the environment--developing new technology or changing the way we live?

Developing new technology.....	3	<b>[79]</b>
	4	
Changing the way we live.....	5	
	3	
Some of both (VOL).....	1	
	1	
Neither (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	2	

28. Which do you think would be the best way to deal with the problem of disposing trash--**(READ CHOICES.) (ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

Developing new ways to burn trash that cause less pollution.....	1	<b>[80]</b>
	7	
Requiring manufacturers to use less packaging and making more recycling by consumers mandatory.....	6	
	9	
Both equally (VOL).....	1	
	0	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	3	

- 29a. Some people believe that the most efficient way to reduce our dependence on foreign oil and encourage conservation would be to increase the tax on gasoline because people would drive less. Would you favor or oppose increasing the tax on gasoline by 25 cents over the next five years to reduce our dependence on foreign oil and encourage conservation?

Favor.....	2
	7
Oppose.....	6
	9
Not sure.....	4

**[81]**

- 29b. Some people think we should build more nuclear power plants because they don't burn coal or oil which create air pollution. Others think that we should not build any more nuclear power plants because of the threat of accident or radiation. Which do you agree with?

Should build.....	35	<u>4/90</u>	
Should not build.....	57	36	<b>[82]</b>
Not sure.....	8	57	
		7	

30. Which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view about what the United States energy policy should be? **(READ STATEMENTS. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

Statement A: We should develop more of our domestic energy resources to minimize our dependence on foreign sources of energy, even if this has harmful effects on our environment.

Statement B: We should protect our environment, even if this means being more dependent on foreign sources of energy.

Statement A.....	3	<b>[83]</b>
	6	
Statement B.....	4	
	6	
Both equally (VOL).....	5	
Neither (VOL).....	7	
Not sure.....	6	

31. Some steps we could take to reduce our dependence on foreign energy sources also have some harmful effects on the environment. For each of the following, please tell me whether you think this action would or would not be worth it to reduce our dependence on foreign energy sources. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	<u>Worth It</u>	<u>Not Worth It</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Allow more oil exploration and development in protected wilderness areas.....	51	42	7	<b>[84]</b>
Require cars to be more fuel-efficient and pollute less, even if this makes them more expensive.....	85	11	4	<b>[85]</b>
Delay new restrictions on the amount of pollution that can be given off by coal-burning power plants.....	52	40	8	<b>[86]</b>
Loosen restrictions on offshore oil drilling.....	43	47	10	<b>[87]</b>
Require cars to be more fuel-efficient and pollute less, even if this means they will be smaller and less safe.....	51	42	7	<b>[88]</b>

- 32a. As you may know, one of the major oil companies says that it has invented a new kind of gasoline that causes much less pollution but would cost 15 to 20 cents more per gallon. If this new gasoline were now available, do you think you would or would not pay the extra money to buy it?

Would pay the extra money.....	6	<b>[89]</b>
	7	
Would not pay the extra money.	2	
	7	
Do not drive (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	5	

- 32b. Do you think the government should or should not require that all gasoline cause less pollution, even if it costs 15 or 20 cents more per gallon?

Should require that all gasoline be made much cleaner.....	7	<b>[90]</b>
Should not require that all gasoline be made much cleaner.....	6	
Not sure.....	1	
	8	
	6	

- 33a. In deciding which products to purchase when you go shopping, how important is it to you that a product is environmentally safe--extremely important, fairly important, just somewhat important, or not that important?

Extremely important.....	3	<b>[91]</b>
Fairly important.....	9	
Just somewhat important.....	3	
Not that important.....	6	
Not sure.....	1	
	8	
	6	
	1	

- 33b. And in deciding which products to purchase when you go shopping, how important is it to you that the manufacturer of a product has a good reputation for protecting the environment--extremely important, fairly important, just somewhat important, or not that important?

Extremely important.....	4	<b>[92]</b>
Fairly important.....	3	
Just somewhat important.....	3	
Not that important.....	1	
Not sure.....	1	
	7	
	7	
	2	

- 34a. In the past six months, have you or haven't you purchased any product specifically because the product or the manufacturer has a good reputation for protecting the environment?

Yes, have purchased product specifically because of good reputation on the environment.....	4	<b>[93]</b>
No, have not purchased product specifically because of good reputation on the environment.....	6	
Not sure.....	4	
	5	
	9	

- 34b. In the past six months, have you or haven't you bought a more expensive product instead of a less expensive one because the more expensive product is better for the environment?

Yes, have bought a more expensive product.....	5	<b>[94]</b>
No, have not bought a more expensive product.....	4	
Not sure.....	3	
	8	
	8	

- 34c. In the past six months, have you or haven't you avoiding purchasing a product specifically because of environmental concerns about the product or its manufacturer?

Yes, have avoided purchasing a product because of environmental concerns.....	5	<b>[95]</b>
No, have not avoided purchasing a product because of environmental concerns.....	3	
Not sure.....	4	
	1	
	6	

**FACTUALS:** Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	6	<b>[96]</b>
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	9	
Moderate.....	2	
	3	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	6	
Very conservative.....	1	
	0	
No thoughts.....	1	
	5	
Not sure.....	1	

F2. What is the last grade you completed in school? Study 4019 page 16

Grade school.....	2	<b>[97]</b>
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	3	
	1	
Some college, no degree.....	2	
	2	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	8	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1	
	8	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	-	

F3. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 26, 27 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	8	<b>[98]</b>
	0			
25-26.....	4	50-54.....	7	
27-29.....	6	55-59.....	6	
30-34.....	1	60-64.....	7	
	1			
35-39.....	1	65 and over.....	17	
	3			
40-44.....	1	Not sure/refused.....	-	
	1			

F4. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

JOB DESCRIPTION: _____		
-----OFFICE USE	2	<b>[99]</b>
Professional/manager.....	7	
White collar worker.....	2	
	2	
Blue collar worker.....	1	
	8	
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	3	
Homemaker.....	8	
Retired.....	1	
	8	
Unemployed.....	3	
Never worked/not sure.....	-	

F5. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	1	<b>[100]</b>
	1	
Labor union household.....	8	
Non-union household.....	8	
	0	
Not sure.....	1	

F6. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	7	<b>[101]</b>
	8	
Black.....	1	
	1	
Hispanic.....	6	

Asian.....	Study 4019page 16	1
Other.....		3
Not sure/refused.....		1



F7. If you added the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	8	<b>[102]</b>
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	4	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	5	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	0	
Not sure/refused.....	5	

XX. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	<b>[105]</b>
	4	
Object--do not call.....	1	
	6	

May we please have your initials for validation purposes?

<b>[106]</b>	<b>[107]</b>	<b>[108]</b>

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

\*\*\*\*\*

**RECORD THE FOLLOWING--DO NOT ASK!**

**Telephone Number--Get from Call Sheet:**

AREA CODE							
<b>[109]</b>	<b>[110]</b>	<b>[111]</b>	<b>[112]</b>	<b>[113]</b>	<b>[114]</b>	<b>[115]</b>	<b>[116]</b>
						<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
						<b>1</b>	<b>[118]</b>

**Caller Identification Number:**

<b>[121]</b>	<b>[122]</b>	<b>[123]</b>	<b>[124]</b>

**THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED**  
**ACCORDING TO MY AGREEMENT WITH HART-TEETER**

Interviewer's Name (PLEASE  
SIGN): \_\_\_\_\_ Study 4019 page 16

Validated By: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Validator: Record a  
"1"

[126]